

In Search of Equitable and Just Development

*A Round Table
On
“Financing for District Level Development”
19th May 2001*

Convened by
Karnataka Women's Information and Resource Centre, Bangalore

With support from
United Nations Development Fund for Women, New Delhi
2002



Community Health Cell
Library and Documentation Unit
367, "Srinivasa Nilaya"
Jakkasandra 1st Main,
1st Block, Koramangala,
BANGALORE-560 034.
Phone : 5531518

In Search of Equitable and Just Development

A Round Table

On

“Financing for District Level Development”

19th May 2001

Convened by

Karnataka Women's Information and Resource Centre, Bangalore

With support from

United Nations Development Fund for Women, New Delhi

2002

452
20.01.02

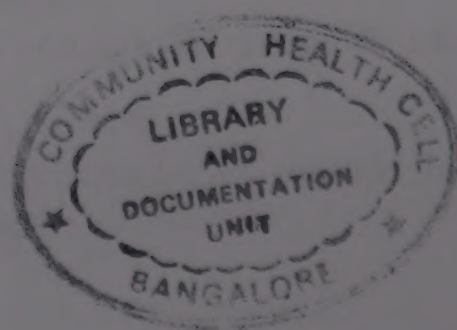
In Search of Equitable and Just Development

A Round Table

On

Planning for District Level Development

18 May 2001



DEV-100 001

07199

Foreword

The International Conference on Women and Development, held in the United Nations Conference Centre, New York, in 1985, provided a unique opportunity for women from all countries to meet and discuss their common concerns. The conference was held in a spirit of solidarity and cooperation, and it was a landmark event in the history of the United Nations. The conference was held in a spirit of solidarity and cooperation, and it was a landmark event in the history of the United Nations. The conference was held in a spirit of solidarity and cooperation, and it was a landmark event in the history of the United Nations.

The 1985 conference was an important opportunity for women from all countries to meet and discuss their common concerns. The conference was held in a spirit of solidarity and cooperation, and it was a landmark event in the history of the United Nations. The conference was held in a spirit of solidarity and cooperation, and it was a landmark event in the history of the United Nations. The conference was held in a spirit of solidarity and cooperation, and it was a landmark event in the history of the United Nations.

“Real change in India will come when women begin to affect the political deliberations of the nation”.———

Gandhiji

Foreword

The International Conference on Financing for Development being held by the United Nations in Monterrey, Mexico in 2002 provides a unique opportunity to ensure that commitments made, in particular, at Cairo and Beijing, are backed by financial resources to facilitate their implementation. For the first time in history, the UN, the World Bank, the IMF, and the WTO will come together to find new ways to ensure that financial resources are directed towards the implementation of established development goals.

The FfD process is an important opportunity to include women's voices and concerns at the highest levels of policy deliberations. And these deliberations will be as rich as the run-up is. One of the foremost events in this process was the UNIFEM supported Seminar on Financing for District Level Development organized by Karnataka Women's Information and Resource Centre (KWIRC). The Seminar provided a unique platform for diverse experts and players, such as public administrators, public finance specialists, bankers, panchayat representatives and women's organizations to come together and focus on finding ways and means to bring about equitable and just development in India, both nationally and locally. Possible ways that the constitutional mandate could be used for decentralized democracy were deliberated upon. Discussions explored the ways and means of finding resources for local development and using them most effectively for district level equitable development. Different perspectives and ideas emerged at the Seminar, adding to the body of knowledge on the issue and providing important building blocks for the forthcoming Conference.

The issue of financing for development, at any level, encompasses the entire sweep of economic governance. It is not just about mobilizing resources but also about the degree of control over these resources and their allocation to various uses. It is overwhelmingly a gender issue. This was reaffirmed at the Seminar, stressing the fact that the gender dimensions of the development process need to be spotlighted.

I take this opportunity to acknowledge and congratulate the Karnataka Women's Information and Resource Centre on their work in this area under the learned and dynamic leadership of Dr. Devaki Jain. UNIFEM values its partnership with the KWIRC, and looks forward to working together.

Chandni Joshi
Regional Program Director
UNIFEM
New Delhi

Contents

	Preface	1
I	Purpose of the Round Table	6
II	District Level Finances	12
III	States Finances—Links to Districts	14
IV	Localizing the Mobilisation of Resources	20
V	The Way Forward	25
 Boxes:		
1.	Setting the Context for Feminisation of Economic Governance	5
2.	Development Planning by and for Women: Some Road Blocks	7
3.	Statement by the Women's Caucus for the Financing for Development Prep Com, UN, New York, February 2001	9
4.	Earmarking Resources for Women is Not Sufficient	22
5.	Challenges before Elected Panchayat Women	25
 Annexures:		
1.	Program	31
2.	List of Participants	33
3.	List of Papers	35
4.	List of Display Materials	36

Preface

There is a search world wide for finding a way to bring about just and equitable development. Apart from the theories and practices, the conferences, networks and programmes there are major institutions involved. Particularly in the Dawn of the New Millennium, the United Nations system, the International Financial Institutions, Governments concerned that poverty and inequality, apart from armed conflict persists even after a millennium of human endeavour, engaged themselves vigorously in new considerations on global and national governance.

While there have been many suggestions on mobilisation and management of finance, locally and globally the search for method and money goes on. The United Nations is holding a World Conference on the subject in March 2002 – an outcome not only of the concern on the shrinking financial resources for development, or the concern for the increasing indebtedness, and impoverishment of some countries and the poor within most countries, but the concern that the new approach or theory for liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation could reduce the responsibility and accountability of governments for the well being of its people. There is also the desire to re-invoke the most democratic of world bodies, namely the UN, to play a role in economic governance, in bringing to bear its own Charter, as a champion for equality in rights and opportunities, as a peace builder and a just leader.

Simultaneously there is also a growing concern, especially amongst the developing countries, and perhaps more so amongst those countries who are **not** in very dire circumstances, that is, **not** the least developed, that dependence on external resources, on borrowings, impinges on sovereignty and reduces the capacity for building some form of self strength.

There have been many attempts to dialogue North South on these issues, attempts to build collectivities of the South – political as in the Non Aligned Movement (NAM) initiative or economic as in the South Commission and the G 77 – but none of these efforts have changed the global landscape of unequal relations between and within countries.

Again, parallel to all these concerns and initiatives, countries i.e. national governments have also taken steps to put their house in order, to find ways of directing development towards greater equity and justice. One such road is to localise government, so that the participation of more people in the governance of themselves can be increased, more accountability can be ensured due to proximity between the governed and governors and most of all to give full reign to peoples capability to provide human, natural and financial resources for their own development. It is usually argued that when local groups are involved in development, their willingness to provide their labour, time as well as finances increases. Further the micro credit and self help and thrift movements in India are revealing the capacity of women particularly, to mobilise and multiply local financial resources

In the context of the belief, that ultimately a nation's strength lies in a measure of self reliance, - a view that the Indian model of development and the South Commission believed in - the idea of giving more financial freedoms especially for poverty eradication and social inputs to the local governments, seemed a step in the right direction.

India for example, after years of effort to usher in, design and deliver just development, felt compelled to try a different mode, and with an amendment to the Constitution in 1992, put into place local self government, and along with the transfer of power, as it was called, put in an element of affirmative action by reserving 33% of the places in the local councils to women, and similarly another 15% to subordinated castes. Many other countries such as Bangladesh, Philippines, Ghana and now Pakistan and many more have also devolved the administration of development to local government of various kinds. Many countries of the North have always had a system of locally elected councils, bringing in community participation.

However in India even after nearly 8 years, and in some cases 10 years, of this endeavour, financial and leadership powers in the designing of development have not really been devolved. Finance Commissions and Finance Ministries have given directives to the government to localise the preparation of plans the raising and spending of resources. They have urged the governments to pass on the targeted sectoral funds to the local bodies for utilisations thought fit. But these injunctions have been ignored for various reasons

Yet what little has been allowed to these local self government institutions has revealed the value of devolution of powers both in terms of mobilisation of resources - human, natural and financial; more efficient delivery of development and greater accountability of government. Women have shown ability to shed historical powerlessness, and reveal their skills in managing development, voicing the concerns - especially for basic amenities and security of living and learning for children. It is well known that proximity of services including of government and courts, is of far greater value to women, because of their role as householders and carers.

Against this scenario, taking cognisance of both - the International Conference on Financing for Development and the world wide interest in giving greater space to women's voice in the direction of development and the financial resources for it, a Round Table was convened by the Karnataka Women's Information and Resource Centre (KWIRC) with support from the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) on Financing for District Level Development. UNIFEM's participation was part of its larger interest in feminisation of economic governance both local and international. The Round Table was a response to the issue of mobilisation of domestic resources, which is one of the issues of the FFD. One of the presumptions being that resources for development can be mobilised in larger amounts and perhaps with more direct impact on the ground, on poor people etc. when the political economy is devolved on to districts and sub districts. Studies made of "panchayati raj" (local government in India) have revealed that mobilisation of resources like finances as well as natural and

human resources is more effectively deployed when the government is localised (of course with the capacity building that goes with such devolution).

Details such as designing of tax structure, collecting of revenue and also the freedom to spend the revenue that is collected on what can be called the local development priorities as well as vigilant accountability adds to the resource mobilisation. By getting at the nitty gritty of this, it is hoped to argue that effective national development at the macro level needs to have a strong base at the micro level and therefore the link between micro level fiscal policy and management, and macro can also get fleshed out.

The Round Table provided a uniquely shared platform where financial experts and those involved in decentralisation came together. It brought together a diverse group of people including public administrators, public finance specialists, bankers, panchayat representatives and women's organisations.

What follows in this document are the dialogues that took place around these issues, between the various stake holders, revealing both: - the strength and self confidence of women from the local self government councils as well as the perceptions and constraints of the financing agencies including the research and development agencies in the arena.

The overall finding was that

- ♦ State and Central governments have failed to follow fully and faithfully the direction given by the Constitution to enable the formation of local self government by continuing the colonial legacy of departmental administration from capitals
- ♦ that mechanisms for accountability of funds and smoothening inter-locality disparities need to be designed
- ♦ However that devolution of government was required on all counts:
 - for deepening democracy
 - for improving efficiency of resource use and appropriateness of development
 - as well as for progressively reducing the burden on national and state exchequers of raising finances for poverty eradication and social development.
- ♦ It was recognised that with the resource crunch and indebtedness, it is women and social development that will suffer.
- ♦ Thus alternative strategies for resource mobilization and use had to be designed urgently
- ♦ A "model" that can give voice to women's leadership, and capabilities – and provision for basic economic and social security, was to localize government with financial powers also.

In other words, for building sovereignty not only at the national level, but at the community level, localised government with greater financial powers was a crucial element.

Thus, under the point in the forthcoming UN/ FFD Conference on Mobilisation of Domestic Resources – localizing of government, with a strong presence of women was an important political input. And for women this was an especially useful agency for inclusion in governance.

Several examples were given of women's achievements both in using credit and raising and snow balling resources. Elected women representatives who participated and presented well-drafted papers on how they would like to design their local area development, showed that the State Government Departments were impeding their progress in this endeavour.

Examples were also given of how merely asking for more allocation for what are called women's special needs was not providing the up-linking that was intended. The resources once again went through departmental conduits, marginalising the role of the elected women representatives and their will and capacity to design and direct development and enable its outcome of raising financial resources.

The women suggested that

- ♦ Committees of elected women representatives needed to have funds which they could plan to use, in consultation with the communities – a fund like the UNIFEM, is required at the local level
- ♦ and an Information and Resource window for women to access is needed at all levels of government
- ♦ The very process of building a budget needs to be revised – from a balance sheet designed at the macro levels, with special allocations for children and women, to a process where the building blocks, the bricks that make up that balance sheet including the taxation plan, needs to be worked out at the local level and then summated at the macro level to reflect the broader interest of women in the very design of development, not only in pieces of cake for themselves.
- ♦ Women's interest is not served merely by "more for women" – their economic and social development is embedded in the entire budget and the macro economic policy that it indicates and invites. The role at the macro level of course would need to include levelling regional and other imbalances but the process needs participation from the ground

What follows then are the specific inputs of the various participants, revealing some of the issues that need to be addressed in looking at the larger picture of financing for development. The dialogue is captured in this document so that it may be a reflection of both the potential and the problems of ushering in development with equity and justice, and the sovereignty of nations.

BOX 1

Setting The Context for FEMINISATION OF ECONOMIC GOVERNANCE

The UN conference on 'Financing For Development', expected to take place in 2002 in Mexico, will involve meetings at the highest political level including at the summit level.

A G77 initiative, it is an attempt at reclaiming some space for the UN in international economic governance—space that has been almost completely 'hijacked' by the BWIs, the WTOs, etc. The basic premise here is that the UN is more democratic and gives more leverage to poorer countries.

Whatever be the ultimate extent of leverage that poorer countries are able to wrest at the end of that conference, the fact is that it has created a space and a platform to call to attention to the inequalities spawned by globalisation and its ensuing economic and trade policies. And a significant aspect of the FFD's agenda — 'mobilisation of domestic resources' —can, in effect, be a call to developing countries to reclaim responsibility for their own economies and not look outside for non-existent and not forthcoming help.

Aligning with this call would help create an astute relationship between all those who see the close links between economic governance, national sovereignty, social justice and gender equality. Such a relationship can build this call into a movement!

UNIFEM's programme for *gender budgeting* easily links into this initiative, this agenda.

In almost all countries economic structures and tax structures are usually designed without any inputs from women—which is why the negative fall-out, from such structures and the policies governing them, deeply affect women, particularly from poor and marginalised groups. Human development reports of several countries have called attention to the increasing mismatch between economic growth and social justice and the urgent need to redefine and rebuild on the existing economic-development paradigms.

En-gendering or *feminizing* this paradigm would bring women and then automatically, basic developmental issues—real grassroots issues—into the agenda of political economy. Only, this would require a wilful direction of the economic and political processes by women's agency, women's capacity and women's experience of political economy.

A positive development in this direction is the recent importance gained by and the increased attention directed towards localising political economy. As a start it has begun getting into the discussion agendas of national and international fora on economics, governance and decentralisation.

In India the 73rd and 74th Constitutional amendments have made local self-governments as constitutional institutions. It has also endowed these institutions with the substance of 'self-government' by devolving functions and powers (including planning) to panchayats in rural areas and nagarpalikas in urban areas. Engendering of these institutions has come in the form of 33% reservation for women on all local governance bodies. Therefore the Indian constitution, through these two amendments, provides for *localising* and *engendering* economic governance.

Forums like the FFD conference, at the international level, and national meetings that form part of the run-up to it, provide opportunities to find ways of doing this effectively.

I PURPOSE OF THE ROUND TABLE*:

To develop an informed view of financing development especially for provisioning of social and economic security to the poor, and in particular women amongst them specifically:

- Assess a hypothesis, that devolving the powers to raise and spend funds, at the local level will yield a larger sum of resources, than when this operation is conducted at the state level and departmentally.
- Suggest that in a situation of scarce resources for development, especially social development, the only way we can make a provision is to devolve the powers on the local bodies.
- Suggest that the utilisation of financial resources will be more efficient if the government is localised.

Several recent official documents strongly support the devolution of powers, especially financial powers. Other aspects to this argument include handing over schemes for the district to implement, suggestions for distribution of funds, untied funds by schemes for locally elected bodies and that the representatives decide on how to spend according to the needs of that area.

In this context it is significant that the idea of galvanising domestic resources for development is being put forth, strongly and frequently, even by some international groups (e.g. *Latest report from the Eminent Persons Group set up by the S-G, UN at the Prep Com for the UN conference on Financing for Development, (May 2001)*). The basis of their argument is that too much dependence on ODA and borrowings, is unhealthy, encroaches on sovereignty, creates dependence and even indebtedness - apart from the possibility of not being forthcoming in the coming decades.

In fact this is one of the items in the background document to the UN world conference on financing for development. There is also a case being made, through this conference, for reclaiming some space for the UN in international economic governance. *And this call offers hope.*

This call is also completely in line with an ideological road that tend to support, namely lowering of dependency especially on former rulers, a degree of self-reliance, and therefore greater sovereignty. Adding grist to the self-reliance mill is the fact that several leading figures from the world of finance, policy and politics have been strong believers of this dictum—some prominent names from India include Dr. Manmohan Singh (former Indian finance minister), Dr. Arun Ghosh (former member of the Indian planning commission) and the late Julius Nyerere (President of Tanzania).

A third argument for devolving powers to raise and spend funds is based on the premise that there is no way now, except to mobilise ourselves and our resources from the ground. The fiscal picture, and its management at the macro level is not working out and there is immense

* Dr. Devaki Jain

potential in unleashing the energies and the resources available with the people – but this can only be done through the local organisations, and that **only** when they are given the space and the stake.

Adding a powerful dimension to these ideological as well as practical arguments is a legal one—that the Indian constitution has mandated this form of governance—even if this fact has not been absorbed into the consciousness of any of our political persona – chief ministers and ministers of rural development or finance.

“Nobody loves me”

.....a sad song from the Panchayats,

- “MP’s do not like me. It hurts their patronage.
- MLA’s do not like me – same reason.
- Chief Ministers by passes me in the garb of District Government.
- Bureaucrats absolutely don’t like me – no respect for the local Panchayat members capacity and cleanliness.
- Functionaries ANM, Anganwadi workers, schoolteachers do not like me. They do not want close supervision and day-to-day accountability to the people.
- Academicians don’t like me. They refer to the plus and minus of subsidiary – Federal State, Centre progressive Vs local conservative.
- NGO’s don’t like me. They feel they are more grassroots’ “a political” and will be put out of business as locally elected bodies are also grassroots.

Latest is the World Bank. Says, corrupt, delays in decision making. Donors seldom like democracy, it delays.”

The National Steering Committee for Women’s Empowerment has strongly suggested that the local Self Government Institutions be used as conduits for design and implementation of development plans. It has also suggested that women’s committees, made up of elected women representatives, be set up. And that their capacities be built up to enable them to design, implement and monitor rather than to merely handle existing schemes.

Box 2

Development Planning by and for Women: Some road blocks

Elected women.....know what are the factors which impede them and what supports, inputs and services they need to go ahead.

Among the former they included the following:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| • Lack of information | • Restricted physical mobility |
| • Patriarchal controls | • Double burden of work |
| • Corrupt system | • Lacunae in laws relating to Panchayats |
| • No freedom for decision making | |

(Asha Ramesh and Bharati Ali, undated—quoted in Development Planning for and by women: over five decades of the Indian experience, by Devaki Jain and C.P. Sujaya.

Most importantly, vindication for all the arguments for mobilising local resources through decentralisation is coming in the form of **experience from the ground**. "The thrift movements" are revealing how money can be made to roll and grow. The traditional methods of growing crops, harvesting water, managing forests and so on are revealing how the resource base can be expanded without large expenditures if voice, space and power is given to the "people".

On the other hand several reviews of other experiences such as sub planning methodology for tribal people, the component plan method and experience of the Women and Child Development Department have revealed the ineffectiveness of their centralised attempts.

Monitoring progress has been one of the biggest gaps in the current systems of implementing development initiatives and is, therefore, a much needed process for accountability. And much work has been done on finding monitoring methods, frameworks and sets of indicators, which can monitor progress even outside of the conventional departmental methods. These can be consolidated to develop indicators, which will make elected persons responsible and accountable.

We must, however, be cautious that these arguments do not get interpreted such that it becomes possible for the State to plead "no resource "and shrug off the responsibility to provide the basic security of life to the majority. The argument of people mobilised development should not be turned into a withdrawal of the State – but should lead to a deepening of the democratic state, giving more space to elected government and its mandate. There exists a mind-set among academics and other "outsiders " to the local self government movement, to think of these institutions as not being *government*. This must be remedied.

Then there is the mystical thing called the **budget**, be it national, state or local.

Basically the Fiscal Policy – the raising of revenue and it's spending– is elaborated through the budget and so a fundamental pre-requisite is that this exercise listens to and respond to the needs, the ideas of different social categories, not only the high profile capital markets, and corporate if there is to be development.

In this Round Table we have tried to bring together these various interests and experiences and hope we can tease out these issues. There is much knowledge on the financing of development. What is special about this Round Table is that discussions here will steer towards, not only ways of taking it to the Districts and below, but will also seek ways for more efficient utilisation of these resources and the potential in people's participation, especially the participation and perspectives of women in the context of larger mobilisation of resources for development.

The Ministry of External Affairs, the Rural Development Department, Government of India, the Reserve Bank of India, NABARD, the Women and Child Development Department, Government of India, apart from UNIFEM are all deeply interested in the outcome of this Round Table so that the recommendations can be taken forward cohesively.

Box 3

Statement by the Women's Caucus for the Financing for Development Prep Com, United Nations, New York, February 2001

The women's caucus affirms and celebrates this historic opportunity whereby governments, international institutions and civil society are working together to effectively and quickly meet the goals of sustainable, equitable, human development.

We are encouraged by the serious commitment by world leaders in the Millennium Declaration to half the world poverty by the year 2015. Even though this is only 14 years away, we believe with you this is "doable."

But let's face facts:

- *As stated by the World Bank, poverty and inequity has increased within the past 20 years world-wide*
- *Women constitute 70% of the world's poor*
- *For every dollar that a man makes women make less than 75 cents—no matter where she lives in the world*
- *Billions of women support their families through precarious employment in the growing informal sector*
- *Even today, three out of every four individuals who can't read or write are female.*

Given these facts, clearly the prevailing economic framework cannot eradicate poverty.

We agree with many of the statements of governments here today that the economic framework must change. In other words, we must stop financing the current macro economic "sound" policies, which includes economic reforms, budget cuts and trade and investment strategies, which reinforce gender inequities.

Therefore, the FFD process must explicitly tackle the elimination of gender inequalities. We know from experience that not everyone understands that sustainable human development includes gender equality—unless gender equality is explicit, it will not be addressed.

More importantly, debt, trade, investment, ODA—these are all processes that are explicitly gendered. They have direct and differential impacts on men and women. Without integrating a fundamental concern for gender equality in the macro, meso and micro economic policies, poverty will never be eradicated, nor sustainable development achieved.

In order to address systemic issues and improve global governance, broaden participation in decision-making, accountability and transparency toward gender equality, we have 3 major recommendations:

1. Because the macro-economic, trade and investment policies that have the greatest impact on women and men are negotiated in secrecy between the multilateral organisation and the official government counterparts, without the full involvement of elected legislative bodies, there is a need to regulate the negotiation process. Citizens must have a decision-making role in approving the policies and projects carried out by these institutions in their countries. Members of the WTO, IMF or WB should be required by these institutions to pass all agreements through national legislative bodies.
2. Processes towards transparency, participation and accountability must be FINANCED by the institutions themselves in order that they are immediately implemented. In addition, monitoring

box contd....

Box 3 contd...

processes must have explicit attention not just to environmental impacts, but also concern for negative economic and social impacts on women.

3. We support the call by many organisations in the international community for a review of the policies and operations of the WTO, IMF and WB. In the meantime, IMF, WTO in addition to the WB, must have a strong mandate (with a safeguard policy) to promote gender equality and environmental sustainability.

We urge governments and international institutions to seriously consider these recommendations, not as favours to the women of the world, but merely as essential ingredients to the fulfilment of the FFD goals. We can achieve this!!!

A Gender Perspective*:

Financing for Development is not just about raising resources. It encompasses the entire sweep of economic governance. Economic governance is overwhelmingly a gender issue.

The run-up to the forthcoming UN conference on Financing for Development, scheduled for 2002, has provided very special opportunities for deliberations on this issue—An issue that has, in a sense, been the missing piece in international efforts at crafting a development consensus during the nineties.

In the nineties, The World Summit for Social development and the Fourth World Conference on Women created a great sense of hope and expectation. They held out visions of a development process, which would enlarge women's choices by building their capacities and creating an environment where they enjoy their human and fundamental rights necessary to live in dignity. But half a decade later, gender blindness is embedded in institutions and processes of governance including economic governance and marginalisation of women continues, endemic and sustained.

In this decade, globalisation has created new and immense wealth. But the unleashing of its turbulent forces has also added new depths and dimensions to poverty. There has been more progress in norms, standards, policies and institutions for open global markets than for people and their rights. Recent economic policies around the world have reinforced gender inequities, disenfranchised and marginalized poor women further.

The costs of gender inequities to human lives are too great to be ignored.

It is imperative that governments, multilateral institutions and the private sector understand the multi-dimensional contributions women make to human development through both the paid market and unpaid non-market work. And that an unequal development process, that most societies adopt, does not represent the true costs and benefits of investment on women.

* Ms. Chandni Joshi, Regional Programme Director, UNIFEM, New Delhi

Women's voices and lived experiences, whether as paid or unpaid workers, are largely absent from debates on finance for Development.

If the discussions on FFD are to address the overall goal of human development then they cannot overlook the dynamic interaction between non-market and market based activities that underpin sustainable human development and the well being of women and men. When social impact of economic activities and policies are not recognized, they lead to persistent development failures, leading to systemic denial of entitlements, particularly for poor women who have, in any case, been marginalized.

The incorporation of gender in policy making requires the formulation, implementation and evaluation of macroeconomic and financial policies based on a broader understanding of gender roles and gender relations. This, by implication, requires not just mainstreaming of gender in such processes but also the mainstreaming of women.

As with all South Asian countries, in India, the five-year planning process continues to be the most critical policy making instrument. It is the Five-year plan, which sets the development agenda, as it were. *Therefore engendering plans has been one of UNIFEM's major strategies.*

Planning is, however, actualised through resource allocation, which in turn happens through the annual budget. Therefore a key focus of our work has been to initiate a *gender budgeting* exercise by analysing of budgets at different levels i.e. national, state, district and the programme.

This process has already made a beginning with the finance ministry, in February 2001, agreeing to include a separate section on gender inequality in the annual economic survey as part of the budget papers.

To take the process forward the logical next steps would be:

- Analysis at the level of programme delivery to reveal how historical discriminations and biases persist and ensue economic distortions even after appropriations and actual expenditure in social sector.
- Analyse how intersectional factors result in unintended gender inequality of outcomes.
- Facilitate a process by which women elected to local self-governments (Panchayats) can influence the budget through democratic bottom-up micro planning.

II: DISTRICT LEVEL FINANCES

TWO WAYS OF LOOKING AT---- PANCHAYATI RAJ*

Much of the debates in India, on Panchayati Raj, are based somewhere between two types of thinking:

1. One view which sees Panchayati Raj as a process of deepening democracy; that local people elect their government and this government has the freedom and power to set priorities on local matters. In the event of a budget constraint, it is up to the local governments to decide whether they would rather have a temple than a road or a school or a health centre and so on.
2. In the second view, it becomes essential that these bodies have some funds, whether collected through taxes locally or through devolved funds from higher levels within which they have to work.

The Karnataka Experience

Karnataka had a very widely known and admired experiment in the 1980s. The state government passed The Karnataka Panchayati Raj Act of 1983 which was a highly progressive and innovative piece of legislation that:

- For the first time brought a big chunk of the planning and development activities under the PRIs.
- Introduced a path-breaking feature i.e., the introduction of 25% reserved seats for women--- for the first time ever in the country.
- Recognised the Panchayat Presidents as Chief Executives from whom the beauracrats took orders.
- There was a system of devolution of funds.

At that time it was recognised as the being among the most liberal decentralisation anywhere in the world!

However, after the 1993 Constitutional amendment, the State passed a new Act, which replace the 1980s Act. The new Act, as a result of intense pressure from vested interests, which included the politicians, civil servants, backtracked considerably on the devolution that was intended in the constitutional amendments. In fact, in the Preamble to the 1994 Act in Karnataka, there is a statement, which says that this Act is being passed so as to have local bodies implement local schemes more effectively!

Points to Ponder

- Having looked at two districts 'concentratedly' from the point of view of their budget, I have come to the conclusion that there is really no such thing as a Zilla budget or a Zilla

* Dr. Vinod Vyasulu, Director, Centre for Budget and Policy Studies, Bangalore

fiscal process! What we have are expenditures in the districts— of the state government. There is expenditure on irrigation, on health and all kinds of other things, which are essentially expenditures of the state government, locally incurred. This got, sort of, legitimised in the new process as it now required resolutions passed in the Zilla panchayats to incur the expenditure. The local governments have no governance functions!

- Therefore, on the question of devolution of funds, which is taking place in this local reality, one has to think in terms of *a new style of governance*. This is not to argue that everything can be done locally and there is no role for state governments. This equation would vary from state to state, but one has to think afresh of the kinds of responsibilities that would be handled at each level and the local budgeting should reflect this division of responsibilities.
- There are bound to be variations among districts, in the way they have developed and in the way they function, their levels of efficiency or even corruption. This would automatically get reflected in the functioning of the specific local governments. Do we say this is a part of the democratic process and accept it? But not all 'happenings' can be looked at within this particular format. Where does one draw the line?
- On the question of finances I have one observation. In several states now, the second round of State Finance Commissions have been set up with the mandate of giving recommendations to the state governments towards what should be devolved to the urban and local (rural) bodies. What I find interesting is that in terms of reference, the commissions have been basically asked to make recommendations on the **basis of the states' own revenue, what they collect on their own, and not on the basis of the total revenue available to the state including transfers from the Government of India**. It is significant also because the **transfers that come from the central government are the larger chunks**. So essentially it is pre-decided that this will remain with the state government and only **the smaller** bit will get distributed/devolved. And this automatically will mean that the larger number of functions will remain with the state government.

These issues have to be addressed before meaningful devolution of powers and finances can happen.

III-STATE FINANCES—LINKS TO DISTRICTS

DE-CENTRALISATION or DE-CONCENTRATION?*

While talking of the practice of transferring funds to the districts, to the panchayats and accounting for such transfers, I am reminded of what I, once, heard a Professor of Political Science (not economics) say—that in his study of the decentralisation process all over the country, he is convinced that what has been achieved so far is de-concentration and not decentralisation.

That was a very apt judgement; because if we look at the process, which has taken place everywhere we will have to conclude that there has not been real decentralization so far. When we talk of **decentralization**, we really mean that there is a **certain transfer of sovereignty**, a part of the sovereignty of national sovereignty to that particular unit. Seen from that point of view, despite the constitutional provisions, **there has been no transfer of sovereignty** in effect anywhere in the Panchayati Raj system in our country.

The time for rhetoric is now over. There is perhaps no need now to sell the idea of decentralisation. In concept, people have accepted it. There is no silent conspiracy working against Panchayati Raj institutions. Basically everyone is grappling with the issues that really come in the way of a true decentralization in our country and there are some significant points:

- I think we have a big confusion in that we are not really specifying **which level of decentralization** it is that we are talking about. It is not just as if the Panchayati Raj Institution is one body at the district level. In fact, there could be a second tier, a third tier and there is a passage of power and responsibility down the whole system which is resented by each of the levels that has to loose the power.

And so it is not only bureaucrats who oppose decentralisation, but political figures at the state and district levels do not like passing on their power and at each level the agonies are the same— people did not have the knowledge, they don't have the capacity, and there is no point in transferring any powers to them. So, really we are talking about 2 or 3 levels and how much of power should be enjoyed by each level in the interests of better accountability and better participation in the development process.

- Then there is the big question — the responsibility of the entire system, the accountability of the entire system to the people, the Gram Sabha or the population and the links between PRIs and voters who have elected them; links which are almost forgotten in the day-to-day functioning of the institutions, all down the line from the state downwards.
- In the actual budgeting and accounting process, there are serious practical problems **about passing on funds** or accounting for funds at various levels. Within the federal structures, because of the constitutional position, the functioning of the state governments is fairly

* Dr. Renuka Viswanathan, Member-Secretary, Tax Reforms Commission, Government of Karnataka

clear. There is a certain stability, certain understanding about how matters should be handled at that level, but as regards the rest of the chain, the position is extremely fluid.

So--it is almost difficult to put the entire funding in a structure and say that this is what the Panchayat is getting and this is what it is getting it for.

So what can be done?

We need some solutions, suggestions as:

1. **Simplify some** of the categories and **abolish some of the categories**, which have become irrelevant like the plan/non-plan distinction.
2. The money that is coming **from the center can go directly to the district** even if it is mentioned as a figure in the state budget. At least, the transfer be done directly to the district level or to the Panchayat level or the taluk Panchayat level or the gram Panchayat level because it certainly would **eliminate a whole lot of double accounting**. Also there is a case for managerial efficiency to talk in terms of a direct transfer of not just central funds, but funds coming from other sources into the Panchayat area.
3. When you talk about Panchayat accountability and transparency to their electorate, in this context, it is essential that every time a fund transfer of this nature takes place to the Panchayat, there should be a mechanism, which is not very difficult in today's electronically linked world, of **giving publicity to the people** of that area so that they know that this much of money has come to the Panchayat from a particular source. Therefore there is much need and scope to improve the information system all down the line.
4. Then there is the issue of over-engineering of the entire structure. Here you have to move, between what items have to be subject to conditionalities and what kind of conditionalities are actually essential and what extent of freedom of decision making should be allowed to which level. These are very serious issues and there are no simple answers, e.g., there could be a kind of hiatus in the priorities of let us say the general population and the priorities of the people of a particular Panchayat. Are we going to force certain kinds of conditionalities on them or compel them to do a sectoral allocation, which will suite our requirements.
5. There is also the issue of a whole set of **parallel paraphernalia** that has developed and which works through the MLA's committees, user committees and a whole lot of other agencies which really are not required to be set up. And you have the same operation for the **central government schemes** also.

Both levels (Centre and State) have to do some hard thinking on this issue and transfer the appropriate responsibilities to the Panchayat. **Here the World Bank projects create a special problem when, invariably, they set up an entire monolithic structure for each project which has worked all the way right down to the bottom without taking note of existing institutions in the field.** This has happened for **water supply, watershed development etc.** They want a user committee to decide how the implementation should be done, to manage the maintenance

of the project, etc and they have a point. This is also because there is a certain uneven democratic culture across the country which will result in Panchayati Raj institutions that are not fully responsive to the population. But we cannot have differentiated division of powers across the districts, we should not also be doing that.

But what we can do is — at all times to work through the existing Panchayati Raj agency, because, we have to live within the structure and strengthen and empower the Panchayati Raj institutions for effective decentralisation.

In addition for effective decentralisation to actually lead to development:

- ♦ **Train members of panchayats** to put choices before an elected body so that they are in a position to really explain to the chairperson or the Panchayat e.g. this is the money that has come, this is the total amount that we have, these are the choices, and you must make a decision on this basis and then leave the choices to the decision-making body.
- ♦ **Train people** in prioritizing issues, in making choices that includes minorities, and other weaker people who feel very uncertain and unprotected within a Panchayati Raj set up.

DISTRICT GOVERNANCE—A FOUNDATION FOR GRASSROOTS DEVELOPMENT*

The weaknesses and inadequacies in the present system of financing for district level development are symptoms of a deeper malady. It is now nearly a decade since the constitutional provisions for the third tier of government at the district and lower levels came into operation—a decade of incessant discussions and little progress.

The third tier of government forms an indispensable foundation for local level development. It brings into being institutions, rules and procedures to give a substantive role to the disadvantaged groups themselves in prioritising, managing and monitoring local level development, keeping its focus on the weak, the poor and the alienated, who have so far been neglected in the development process. Without the third tier of government, the supporting measures for district level development, like the financing arrangements, would have no ground to stand on.

The time has now come for the political activists, advocacy groups and development agencies to realise the formidable barriers blocking the devolution of political power and resources to Panchayati Raj Institutions. Unless a powerful pro-PRI constituency is built up, the third tier of government is unlikely to move out of the statute book.

High Stakes in Managing Local Natural Resources

* Dr. V. M. Rao, Economist, Bangalore

As for the apprehensions about corruption, inefficiency and lack of accountability of PRIs—just compare them with the sad record, in this, of the central and state governments—“The PRIs could hardly do worse!”

The only way to build up healthy PRIs is to implement, honestly and fully, the constitutional scheme of devolution and to leave the PRIs free to function and learn from experience. *This* is the way democratic institutions have evolved, over time, in India, at the central and at the state levels. The same model should apply to PRIs too.

Warnings against empowering PRIs are devices used by vested interests that now control the power and resources belonging to the domain of PRIs. Participation in PRIs is but the *first step* for the disadvantaged groups towards empowerment. But it is a very important and significant step in knowing of and understanding their rights, a step that enables them to acquire a stake in local resource management and an equitable share in development benefits—a situation definitely not likely to be popular with ‘vested interest’ groups!

For fuller empowerment the disadvantaged groups would have to confront the mainstream centres of power, which relegate the rural areas and poor and vulnerable people to the periphery. In the preoccupation with local development one should not overlook the widening rural/urban gap in incomes and development status—which is the prime source of inequity in the Indian society.

TAMIL NADU EXPERIENCE:*

A Beginning

Consequent to the 73rd Constitutional amendment, in Tamil Nadu state, the existing Panchayati Raj Act of 1958 was repealed and re-enacted as the Tamil Nadu Panchayat Act of 1994.

Accordingly, its section 257 entrusted the powers and responsibilities to the PRIs for 29 items—to prepare plans for economic development and social justice. Elections to Panchayats were conducted in 1996 and the PRIs, as per the new Act, came into being with effect from 25th October 1996.

How it was organised

1. In 1994, the village panchayats and the middle level panchayats were already functioning and the new Act only brought some changes in the administration of these two tiers.
2. It created a new tier—the district Panchayat—consisting of elected members from among 5000 voters. The district panchayats were empowered to review and monitor the 29 items of various government departments—devolved to the panchayats. The district panchayat also had to submit to the state government, a general report of the administration and the

* Mr. Kottathur Ramaraju, Chairman, District Panchayat, Trichy, Tamil Nadu

administration of panchayat unions and village panchayats. In addition the district panchayats had (have) to submit their own annual reports to the State Government, which is placed on the table of the State Assembly with the remarks of the State Government.

3. The district panchayat has been financed through several schemes e.g. Jawahar Velai Vaippu Thittam, district decentralised plan, state and tenth finance commissions, employment assurance schemes etc.
4. The 1994 Act provided for a District Planning Committee (DPC) in each district. (Initially the collector was appointed as Chairman of the DPC, but later the Chairman of the district panchayats was made the DPC chairman. The district collector (in rural areas) and the Mayor of the Corporation (in urban areas) continue to be members of the DPC. The numbers of members to the PC is fixed by the Rural Development Department of the State Government. The idea in creating the DPC is to decentralize democracy—upto the district level.

How it actually works

- Within each district panchayat the MP (member of Parliament), members of the state council and state legislative assembly—who represent a part or whole of the district as their constituencies also lie within the district—are registered as elector or voter! They also have voting rights in the district panchayats.
- Among the finances coming into the districts through the various schemes, (mentioned earlier) some of these funds have been withdrawn from the purview of the district panchayat. Moreover, the district panchayat can only accord administrative sanction to these schemes. The funds are released through the District Rural Development Agency (DRDA) and not through the district panchayats.
- The Tamil Nadu Government agreed to give, each year, 8% of its income to PRIs, through the State Finance Commission and also to increase this amount by 1% each year. This annual increase has not happened, with the result, funds allotted to district panchayats are insufficient to meet even the basic needs of the people.
- The DPC members now include—as its special invitees—the local MP, member of the state council, legislative assembly. No elections have been conducted for its constitution and it has, therefore, not begun to function as yet. However a district-planning cell has been constituted under a district-planning officer—who is provided with one statistical inspector and an assistant! He also has the 'necessary' office accessories such as telephone, computer, jeep etc. He also functions as the secretary of the district panchayat!

The Tamil Nadu government should conduct elections to the DPC so that they can start functioning.

Sum up*

Match resources and responsibilities

In the final analysis, the resources for development—including financial resources—come from a common pool. It is, therefore, critical that the links between the budgets of the central and the state governments and those of local self-governments are clearly established.

Without such clarity, it will not be possible to:

- Avoid a mismatch between resources and responsibilities
- Establish fiscal responsibility at each level.

Not enough attention is being given, at present, to these basic requirements—with the result that many PRIs have become ineffective or even worse.

Under the 73rd amendment to the constitution PRIs have the responsibility to prepare development plans and implement them. But they do not have enough authority to decide, finally, on such plans or to raise resources for them. Locally prepared plans have to be approved at the state level; the finances are then provided through budgetary grants from the centre or the state. Thus:

- PRI budgets are really drawn up elsewhere, without proper articulation of local needs or priorities
- Taxation powers or untied funds available to PRIs are also very limited

Under such circumstances, it is virtually impossible to fix fiscal responsibility at the PRI level—or any other level—and provide for proper accountability.

So, there is an urgent need to:

- Demarcate the areas of fiscal responsibilities of the state vis-à-vis PRIs
- Define clearly the tax and loan resources available to the PRIs
- Enlarge the decision-making authority of PRIs with regard to both, projects and personnel.
- Enlist support, from government, NGOs at the state, national or international level, for capacity building programmes, especially for the men and women elected to the local governments.

* by Dr. K.S. Krishnaswamy, Former Deputy Governor, Reserve Bank of India

IV- LOCALISING THE MOBILISATION OF RESOURCES

District Development—Monitoring of Projects*

The current pre-occupation with raising local resources for development has obscured the focus on a key issue—monitoring of existing development projects.

Weak delivery systems and tax monitoring mechanisms, at the district level, have become chronic debilitating factors in effectively implementing development projects by optimum realisation of the resources allotted for them.

The solution to this would be to monitor the performance of development projects by *analysing the results generated*. For instance periodic assessment of projects, directed at persons below the poverty line, and the money spent, would indicate who has actually come above the line, who could not. Such assessment would reveal the true strengths and weaknesses of a project. Monitoring results will require the implementing departments to oversee the project and collect data for some time.

Spin-offs of results' monitoring

- Effective delivery systems and on-going monitoring will induce a self-sustaining quality to the project.
- Local governments (Panchayats) will know what their scarce resources have achieved.
- There will be a continuous feedback on the strengths and weaknesses of the project which can aid in upgrading the current project and in the conception and development of future projects.
- The project objectives will remain in focus ensuring that the resources are optimally used. This will mean that quality and not quantity of targets achieved will be the measure of effectiveness.
- A sense of prioritisation for the available resources will be infused.

GOVERNMENT PRACTITIONER'S POINT OF VIEW**

Being from the government, my perceptions will be different from the views presented here today. For me a key question is what kind of funds are flowing to the district and which is the agency, which is going to use these funds towards development?

Since this is the time for finalizing the approaches to the 10th Five Year Plan, it is also a time for introspection especially within my department in terms of the kind of programs that have been implemented for women, and the strategies that have been used for getting these programs implemented right down to the grass root level.

* Mr. A. Achar, General Manager, RBI, Bangalore

** Ms. Rashmi Chaudhary, Deputy Secretary, Women and Child Department, Government of India, New Delhi

At present all the women's programs of my department together cover not more than say, 150,000 women annually, which is a very small and insignificant number. But even here there are three ways in which the funds are sent out and the schemes too are of 3 kinds:

1. Where the funds were given directly from the centre to the district level functionaries and it included Panchayati Raj Institutions. Our experiences with this has not been good, in the sense we have very less information on how these were utilized. In fact one of the reasons why this scheme did not work well was that there was no system of obtaining proper feedback from so many different agencies. The centre could not handle that kind of monitoring. It has now been recast into a centrally sponsored scheme so that the money is sent to the state instead of the districts.
2. Where funds are directly given to the State Government, i.e. say, through the ICDS or the Integrated Women's Empowerment Project. Here, the bulk of money is given to the state government for very specified purposes. Here again I would say that our monitoring, review system and our feed back systems are not very good. A lot of times, we get utilizations just in March, when the next financial year is about to start. And most times we don't know what has happened to all the money that was given to the state government, whether the state has actually devolved it further down to the grassroots —district and block level agencies. Also a number of times the state governments use it for purposes other than the purpose the money was given in the first place. For example, The ICDS money I am told, in some states, was used for paying teacher's salaries.
3. Where women's programmes are funded through NGOs, we invite project proposals from various non-governmental organizations. NGO's from district level come through the state government, but the interaction is often very direct and here, what our experiences is that basically it is not need based at all in the sense that funds are not going to places or the states or the districts where the need is much more. Say for example the Bhimaru states, but it is going to places or states where the NGO's are well organized. They are more aware and know how to present project proposals, so funds are going there. The funding pattern is very skewed and this creates wide variations in the amount of money that is sent to various state governments.

So we have to rethink our strategies of how to devolve money from the central government, so that it is used effectively in places where it is really required.

"Money is there, who will use it?"

In the 9th five year plan we had a budget of Rs. 851.49 crores for women's programs and this was not utilized fully. Only 51.8% of this money has been utilized and nearly more than 25% of money has been either surrendered or has been diverted. So, I don't think it is the problem of resources, it is the problem of how to use these.

The capacity of NGOs, the voluntary sectors, the state governments and district level machinery to utilize and absorb these funds in a proper manner is extremely limited.

We also have this whole system of beneficiary oriented schemes. There are nearly 40 odd schemes listed, which are targeted towards women. Here too only 48% of the funds that were earmarked in the current year were actually used. So, again it is not a problem of having few resources, but a problem of how to make the available resources reach the right places. Basically we are all in search of a good agency, which would use this money and well.

Women and Self-Help Groups

The working group on the 9th plan recommended that we must recognize the changed scenario, which includes the widespread of women's self-help groups. They have recommended that the synergy between the self-help groups and the elected women in the Panchayati Raj institutions be used to the optimum. And that these women should be involved at all levels — not only in planning projects, but also in implementing, monitoring and reviewing them. We are moving towards this but the road is very long and very difficult.

Box 4

Earmarking Resources for Women is not sufficient

The consensus that has evolved earmarking resources for women not sufficient over two decades of active field mobilisation, grassroots research and interactions with the women is that —it is necessary but certainly not sufficient to earmark resources for women in budgets and planning instruments. And in the effort to involve women in planning, it is necessary to involve them in local level planning as a part of political empowerment strategies.

The instrumentality of the component plan therefore needs a set of empowerment and participation strategies to enable the transfer of political power to women, to enable them to take charge of planning changes in their own lives. A basic requirement would seem to be the overturning of the hierarchy of present day planning, of the top-down model.

.....Development Planning for and by women: over five decades of the Indian experience, " Does the Mahila component plan show the way?" , by Devaki Jain and C.P. Sujaya.

A NON-GOVERNMENT PRACTITIONER'S VIEW*

We are a grassroots organization, 15 years old, with a membership base of 80,000, which includes agricultural, forest, construction labourers, mine workers and so on. It is our work, which compelled us to look at the finances of our own state. Since we work mainly in tribal areas we tried to find out how much money the government spends in tribal areas. This led us to look at the state budget vis-à-vis the budget allocated in the tribal areas as per the state plan and that again led us to understand the state priorities, the state programs and so on. We followed the classification adopted by the Comptroller and Auditor General of India, which starts with the major heads—sectors, followed by programmes, schemes and then the objectives.

* Mr. M.S. Mistry, Managing Trustee, Disha, Ahmedabad

As we got into it deeper, we found errors —of thousands of rupees, crores of rupees.

The point I am trying to make is that, contrary to what I have been hearing today that it is very difficult to know exactly how much of money the Government of India spends on what—it is possible to pin point this exactly, e.g. if you look at all the tax incomes you will find that the Comptroller and Auditor General has put two zeros. Any budget we start with 2 zeroes is the tax income, any non tax income starts from 01, any grant and aid has 1, and 2 and 3 is for revenue expenditure, 3 and 5 for capital expenditure, 6 and 7 for loan and advances, and the 8 are the public expenditure. So if you want to know how much income is the general education, i.e. the general education budget head is 2202. If you want to find out the capital expenditure you start with 4202.

And no State Government can make any changes in all this without the permission of the Comptroller and Auditor General.

If you look at the district and the state, the whole devolution is very much like the centre, state relationship on devolution of finances.

Raising resources locally

As part of our work we have analysed the district budget in our own state, and we are conducting a training program in collaboration with the political party to the elected representative who are elected. The state budget allocates 35% of its total planned expenditure towards district development. Now this 35% we say why 35% why not 50%, why not 60%? Now who decides 35%? That is a question mark before us. Besides out of this 35%, almost 80% goes into running their own programs and 20% just goes to the district planning committees.

We also tried to understand how the elected district panchayat raised its funds and how these were spent. Out of the total budget of the district Panchayat, the district Panchayat raised only 2.30% by themselves, by their own tax. Of these they spent almost 29.40 paise in general administration. Road and building was another major expenditure.

Based on this study and our experiences, I can suggest sources through which resources can be raised by the district panchayat. e.g. land revenue, which is very crucial to the district, but contributes very little to the state's exchequer, can be given entirely to districts' Panchayat. Other possible sources could be royalty on minor minerals, surcharge on the stamp duty, professional tax, entertainment tax, i.e. the tax on cable, tax on TV, tax on irrigation, tax on other things, forest produce etc. can now be transferred to the districts. If there are the industries, or other organisations, which are in the district, they have to pay a 1%, 2%, 4%, or 5% of the turnover of the amount and that can replace the octroi. This will give a lot more amount to the district. If the district panchayat takes donations from private individuals that should be completely exempted from income tax act.

So one can increase and mobilize lot of resources within the district panchayat itself.

District and State

The whole success of decentralisation lies in a lot more on the awareness on the part of the people including panchayat members, beside the commitment of the district panchayat to put certain programs into it. We have to see the districts as an autonomous bodies, units, able to manage their own industry, their own forest resources, their own minerals and so on.

The relationship between the district and the state has to be like the relationship between the state and the centre.

AN ELECTED PRACTITIONER'S VIEW:*

1. Responsibility for ensuring security of Women and Dalits—who face threats from anti-social elements—must be taken by PRIs through the help of political parties. At present there is absolutely no support to PRIs from these parties.
2. Existing revenue share for scheduled caste and scheduled tribe groups and women must be increased and implemented through Panchayats.
3. 20% of funds allocated to MLAs (Members of legislative Assembly) and MPs (Members of Parliament) must be transferred to Panchayats for women's social and economic upliftment.
4. Elementary education, up to Std. V, must be entrusted to Panchayats and they should be empowered to appoint teachers at the ratio of 1:10.
5. Local cess must be levied based on land revenue demand
6. Revenue collection from mines, minerals and royalties from non-conventional energies should be entrusted to Panchayats.
7. Protection of water resources must be entrusted to PRIs. This must include assessment of pollution levels and its impact on water sources, fisheries and the coast—the results of which should be announced in the gazette at the district level. And the 'polluter' must pay compensation.
8. The whole idea of SHGs and the current way of implementing development programmes through them has to be re-looked at. This is because SHGs no longer attempt self-employment for their members. Instead they have become moneylenders—for high interests! Also involving SHGs in development programmes through NGOs has created clashes among village panchayats and gram sabhas—as village panchayats do not have adequate finances for local development.
9. The 3-tier of panchayats must have inter-linkages, DPC's (District Planning Committee) functions must be strengthened and planning from below must be entrusted to them.

* Mr. R. Pakkriswamy, Chairperson, Thiruvavur District Panchayat, Tamil Nadu (Mainly recommendations, made in Tamil and translated later)

Box 5

Challenges before elected Panchayat Women

The (9th Plan) working group challenges before elected panchayat women was clear that the component plan had to be hitched to decentralised planning if the promises made to the women were to be actualised. It was no longer enough for plans; programmes, allocations and schemes to be made in the government offices at central or even state levels. They had to be made by women, where they were situated and where they were located. It was for the local bodies (including the urban bodies) to decide what are the kind of schemes that the women needed and demanded, how much funds were required to be allocated, how they were to be spent, how monitoring was to be done.

.....Elected women have therefore to fight on several fronts at the same time. They have to fight for their own place in the sun, in the panchayats vis-a-vis the patriarchal forces arranged against them—and at the same time, they have to fight the political and bureaucratic state agencies for according a greater role in governance to the panchayats.

.....Development Planning for and by women: over five decades of the Indian experience, "How to change the direction of planning?", by Devaki Jain and C.P. Sujaya

V THE WAY FORWARD

NEED TO REVIEW BUDGETARY AND POLICY MAKING PROCESSES*

There is a clear need to review and reform the process of policy and budget making by the states in India for this process **remains** a democratic instrument of state planning. It is also one of the major ways in which the state intervenes —supposedly for transparency and social justice.

Going deeper, specific reasons, for such a review and reform, are many:

1. Increasingly global market financial giants like the World Bank, the IMF, and WTO etc. are clamouring for the dismantling of the welfare state. Therefore, this emerging reconstruction of a state that is essentially an agent of big business market forces and how this affects people needs to be examined.
2. Today, budget making and policy framing processes adopt completely unaccountable practices even as they remain state-bureaucrat-centred. As a result we, as citizens can, at best, expose budgetary inequities or reveal how budgeted amounts never reached the concerned people. But there is little more we can do.
3. Also the pattern of budget allocations are absolutely skewed for over 90% of the revenue expenditure goes to meet non-plan expenditures like salaries of all government employees etc. Only 5-7% actually gets converted to development programmes to reach the people. A major factor contributing to this state of affairs is the fact that there are simply no inputs to planning and budgeting from the districts.

* Ms. Kalpana Sathish, Senior Co-ordinator, Human Rights Advocacy and Research Foundation, Chennai and others

The whole process is arbitrary, non-transparent and not conducive for any new thinking of development planning from below.

Development planning, even in an unequal, unjust society, should not mean only planning for implementation of development schemes alone. It is much more.

From our experience it involves the power of local governments to strive towards:

- *Decentralisation and distribution of wealth and assets*
- *Equal access and enjoyment of common resources*
- *Participatory planning based on micro-macro needs and priorities*
- *Dis-empowerment and distribution of state government's powers and empowerment of district panchayats, DPCs, municipalities and municipal corporations*
- *Total financial devolution to local governments—not just disbursement of money for schemes or capital*
- *Local revenue raising from those who have wealth and a total ban on external loans, especially from the World Bank*
- *Power to local governments to veto any proposal or decision proposed by the state or central government, which is destructive to local development.*
- *Panchayats working together with gram sabhas to efficiently implement various development initiatives, particularly for the poorest groups*

Significance of the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments in this review-reform process

A basic premise of the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments is that sustainable development and democracy are inseparable, indivisible.

The amendments lay the ground for strengthening democracy, re-defining federalism and for rejuvenating local self-governments. Under these new scheme of things, Panchayats and urban local institutions are most crucial in the processes initiated for people to assert their community identity, fulfil their basic needs, fight exploitation, unequal oppressive power relations promote human rights and protect community assets for self-reliance and sovereignty.

Since the amendments were introduced in 1993, the new processes have thrown up lakhs of new leadership among women and dalits. It is this feature that has the potential to galvanise the movement for real participatory democracy from below.

But crucial to this process is a respect for a commitment to human rights and recognition for that popular participation; grassroots democracy and transparent governance are essential pillars of sustainable development.

Despite proclamations about decentralised democracy the PRIs have never had a serious opportunity to flourish in Tamil Nadu (or anywhere in the country for that matter). This is because the path of development is base on centralised planning, concentration of power and wealth among the top 10% of the population.

Some Issues for Development Planning and local-Governance

- The essence of local self-government lies in the freedom PRIs enjoy in selecting their own course of development, planning for it and funding it independently. Of course, local governments can call upon the services of professionals when necessary.
- But a pre-requisite, for this is to happen, is devolution of financial resources including the powers to raise these.

Some ground realities that obstruct local Planning

- The near total dependence of PRIs on the state and central funding for their activities, and indeed for their very existence. They have no sources to tax income nor is there a dependable system, for revenue sharing with the state and union governments, in place. Current development work at the PRI level is limited to schemes related to tied grants flowing to them—and even this flow is jerky as a great deal of streamlining, in the procedures for the actual release of these funds, is needed.
- Currently 80% of Panchayats' revenue are government grants. So they have no financial autonomy whatsoever. In this reality, the powers actually 'entrusted' to Panchayat governments are of a very rudimentary and cosmetic nature.
- Also, the ever increasing central schemes and centrally sponsored schemes, which are, at most times, used to distribute political patronage, are completely contrary in spirit to decentralisation. In addition, their existence creates a horde of practical and logistical problems in executing decentralised governance.
- The continuation of the District Rural Development Agency (DRDA) is an anomaly.
- The functions of the DPC are yet to be defined. The preponderant presence of 'invitees' in the composition casts, an adverse influence in the committee's ability to resist pressures while making locally favourable decisions. This undermines the process of planning within the Panchayats and urban local bodies.

An alternative reforms agenda that stands on efficient self-reliance; more domestic resource mobilisation is the urgent need. Three areas have serious implications for the states and these are—poverty, unemployment and social disparities. And there is no indication of any coherent strategy in the central and state budgets to deal with them.

What can be done?

1. The district Panchayats must be empowered to be the key supervisory, planning, monitoring and evaluating body at the district level.
2. Social justice and equity should be the basis of planning and decision making in the district Panchayats.

3. The district Panchayats should be empowered to establish and maintain a scientific research analysis and evaluation wing, which calls upon scientists and planning experts—on deputation or contract.
4. The sectoral allocations made at the central and state levels should be on the basis of demands and plans made from the districts, keeping with local priorities.
5. The pattern of funding and delivery of funds for social sector developments needs drastic change. The plan and non-plan funds for social development must be transferred and kept under the control of local government. For decisions at the district level, the district Panchayats must be the institution vested with powers for financial allocation to both rural and urban local government bodies.
6. The special component provisions for women and dalits must be continued and even strengthened. The financial allocation in all budget heads for this must be made to local governments.
7. The village Panchayat has to be considered as the development base and the district Panchayat must be strengthened (infrastructure/personnel) to co-ordinate planning and implementation of programmes, with technical support if necessary.
8. Gram Sabhas must have the freedom and decision-making powers in all local projects—particularly when they involve (exploit) local natural resources.
9. The preparation of the annual plans and budgets must be finalised by the village Panchayat together with the Gram Sabha. State government bureaucrats—even the block development officers—must be kept out of this process.
10. Each district must prepare a five-year plan—which, as far as possible—integrates with the state five-year plan. The DPC must have the primary responsibility for the preparation of the district annual plans.

SOME KEY ISSUES THAT EMERGED

Vindication for mobilising local resources through decentralisation has come and continues to come, from ground experiences—the women's SHGs which have taken developmental space almost as an all-India movement positive and dynamic examples of women elected PRI members dealing with people's day-to-day problem, local water-harvesting efforts that have solved water problems in chronically drought affected Rajasthan—the examples are many and are steadily increasing in number. Still, in a country as vast as India, they appear sporadic and scattered.

So, this is not just about financing or raising resources—locally or otherwise—for local grassroots development. It is the entire philosophy and concept of local self-governance, that has yet to be accepted (constitutional mandate notwithstanding) in toto. The discussions on

this cannot still be limited to how much power or responsibility or capacity the PRIs should/can handle. Instead the nitty gritty has to come down to one specific area—how to effectively add this deeper dimension to our democracy.

A key issue that was much discussed is the *role* of SHGs and elected women PRI members in economic governance. A basic premise, rather a unanimously accepted idea which emerged was that—*en-gendering* the development paradigm would automatically bring in real-life issues of poor and marginalized people (who ARE the majority) into the country's political agenda. *What would it take to galvanise the decentralisation process and make it a 'fact of life' within India's democratic governance?*

The main issues raised, some highlighted—in the nature of recommendations—during the day-long Round Table—all within the framework of the 73rd and 74th amendments' mandated decentralisation—can provide some answers:

- While there is a need to get into the hair-splitting exercise of analysing budgets, re-casting schemes, re-allocating resources etc. we need to go further; to re-cast and re-think the pattern of assistance the government expects in drafting, planning and implementing development.
- This leads to the principles and processes of budget making. For one, the current way of doing the budget and the actual presentation of budgetary information is so complicated that even "experts" are unable to understand it all! And second, is the issue of who inputs into it i.e. whose needs, aspirations does it reflect and in what measure?
- The tax reforms that are now required are those which are able to raise the sources of tax (at various government levels—including district panchayats) and which can effect the power base—to tax—to be expanded to district panchayats.
- An urgent need to do away with sectoral allocations and distribution of funds from the state and central budgets.
- It follows that—at all times, all agencies, governments, donors etc.—should work on any project ONLY through the existing PRIs. This may, at times, necessitate added training, monitoring and evaluation. But ultimately it would strengthen and empower PRIs, thereby deepening the democratic culture and functioning.
- Demarcate areas of fiscal responsibilities of the state vis-à-vis PRIs.
- Identify, specifically, district-wise (could be part of the planning process) sources for raising/mobilising local resources.
- Train members of panchayats to put choices before an elected body so that they are in a position to really explain to the chairperson or the Panchayat.
- Train people in prioritising issues, in making choices that includes minorities, and other weaker people who feel very uncertain and unprotected within a Panchayati Raj set up

- ♦ Local level planning efforts must completely exclude state level bureaucrats, MLAs, MPs, even the block development officers.
- ♦ The Gram Sabha must have the freedom and decision-making powers for all local projects, particularly when they involve (exploit) local natural resources.
- ♦ Recognise the widespread of SHGs and the presence of lakhs of women elected PRI members and mobilize them as conduits for development planning, implementing, monitoring and reviewing.
- ♦ Consolidate work done on finding monitoring methods, frameworks and indicators, which can monitor progress even outside of the conventional departmental methods—thereby making, elected members responsible and accountable.
- ♦ Work out details of how to effectively link the 3 tiers of PRIs, so that development plans that cover several villages, districts can be well co-ordinated without being centralised.
- ♦ An obvious need to strengthen the District Planning Committees (DPC) and to abolish the District Rural Development Agency (DRDA).
- ♦ An unambiguous need for training and capacity building, on economic and overall governance, to elected members of PRIs.
- ♦ Incorporate learning from the experiences of the women's component plan and the Tribal sub-plan into overall development and to use that to transfer the implementation—through modification or whatever else it takes to realize the aims of these plans—into the hands of women themselves.

ROUND TABLE ON FINANCING FOR DISTRICT LEVEL DEVELOPMENT *In partnership with UNIFEM, South Asia*

19th May 2001
PROGRAMME

9.00 – 9.30 a.m.

Registration

SESSION – I

OVERVIEW

10.00 – 11.00

Chairperson: Ms. Chandni Joshi, Regional Program

Director, UNIFEM, New Delhi

Purpose: Dr. Devaki Jain

UNIFEM's interest in women's role in influencing fiscal
 Policy – through engendering budgets: Ms. Chandni Joshi

11.00 – 11.15

Coffee Break

SESSION - II

11.15 – 12.15 a.m.

Chairperson: Dr. Amresh Bhagchi, Emeritus Professor,
 Former Member, National Finance Commission and
 National Institute of Public Finance and Policy, New Delhi

District Level Finances: Presentations

1. Dr. Vinod Vyasulu, Centre for Budget and
Policy Studies, Bangalore
2. Mr. K. Vijayaraghavan, Regional Director, Reserve
Bank of India, Bangalore
3. Mr. S.M. Mehta, CGM and Mr. Sreenarayanan, DGM
NABARD, Bangalore
4. Ms. Ponni Kailasam, General Secretary, Tamil Nadu
Federation for Women Presidents of Panchayat Government

SESSION - III

12.15 Noon – 1.30 p.m.

Chairperson: Dr. K.S. Krishnaswamy,
 Former Deputy Governor, Reserve Bank of India

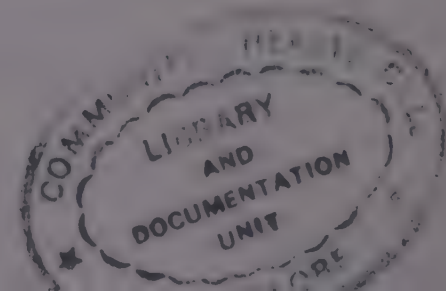
State Finance: Links to District:

Presentations:

1. Dr. Renuka Viswanathan, Member-Secretary, Tax Reforms
Commission, Bangalore
2. Dr. V.M. Rao, Economist, Bangalore
3. Mr. Kottathur Ramaraj, Chairperson, Trichy Districts
Panchayat and President of Tamil Nadu District Panchayat
Chairperson's Association
4. Ms. Jesurathinam, Director, Neythal, Nagappattinam

1.30 – 2.00 p.m.

Lunch



SESSION - IV
2.00 – 3.30 p.m.

**Chair: Mr. K. Vijayaraghavan, Director,
Reserve Bank of India, Bangalore**

Localising the Mobilisation of Resources:

Presentations:

1. Mr. A. Achar, General Manager, RCPD, RBI, Bangalore
2. Ms. Rashmi Chaudhary, Deputy Secretary, Women and Child Development Department, Government of India, New Delhi
3. Mr. M.S. Mistry, Managing Trustee, Patheya/Disha, Ahmedabad
4. Dr. K.S. Krishna Swamy, Former Deputy Governor, Reserve Bank of India
5. Mr. R. Pakkriswamy, Chairperson, Thiruvar District Panchayat

3.30 – 3.45 p.m.

Tea

SESSION - V
3.45 – 4.45 p.m.

Chair: Dr. V.M. Rao, Economist, Bangalore

The Way Forward/Recommendations

Responses: Ms. Chandni Joshi, Regional Program Director, UNIFEM, New Delhi

Shri. K. Vijayaraghavan, Director, Reserve Bank of India, Bangalore

Ms. Janakamma, Malangi Gram Panchayat member, Periyapatna Taluk, Mysore

Ms. Kalpana Sathish, Senior Co-ordinator, Human Rights Advocacy and Research Foundation, Chennai and others

Dr. Amresh Bhagchi, Emeritus Professor,

Former Member, National Finance Commission and National Institute of Public Finance and Policy, New Delhi

Dr. K.S. Krishna Swamy, Former Deputy Governor, RBI

Vote of Thanks: Mr. V.S. Badari, Hon. Director, Singamma Sreenivasan Foundation, Bangalore

ROUND TABLE ON FINANCING FOR DISTRICT LEVEL DEVELOPMENT

In partnership with UNIFEM, South Asia

19th May 2001

List of Participants:

Ms. Chandni Joshi

Regional Program Director
UNIFEM

223, Jor Bagh, New Delhi - 3

Ph: (011) 4604 351/4698 297

Dr. K.S. Krishnaswamy

C-601, Adarsh Gardens,
47th Cross, Jayanagar 8th Block
Bangalore - 82

Ph: (080) 6651 488

Dr. Amaresh Bhagchi,

National Institute of Public Finance
and Policy,

18/2, Satsang Vihar Marg,

Special Institutional Area

New Delhi - 67

Ph: (011) 6961829,

Fax: (011) 685 2548

Dr. Renuka Viswanathan

Member Secretary,

Taxation Committee,

Res: 94/E, 9th Cross,

Raj Mahal Vilas Extension,

Bangalore - 560 080

Ph: (080) 346 7634, 344 7848 (O)

Ph: 334 6020 (R)

Dr. Vinod Vyasulu

Director

Tide Development Research Foundation

1st Floor, S.V. Complex, No. 55,

K.R. Road, Basavanagudi, B'lore - 560 004

Ph: 6671 756/6653 853,

Fax: 6618 401

Mr. R. Achar

General Manager

Reserve Bank of India,

Rural Planning and Credit Department

Bangalore - 560 001

Mr. K. Vijayaraghavan

Regional Director,

Reserve Bank of India, Bangalore

Mr. M.S. Mistry

Managing Trustee, Patheya/Disha

11, Mangal Deep Flats

Gandhi Ashram Post Office

Ahmedabad - 27

Ph: 755 3071 (079)

Fax: 755 6782 (079)

E-mail: disha@ad1.vsnl.net.in

Mr. L.C. Jain

"Tharangavana", 12th Cross,

Raj Mahal Vilas Extension

Bangalore - 560 080

Ph: (080) 334 4113, 346 1763

Fax: (080) 331 2395

E-mail: lcjain@bgl.vsnl.net.in

Dr. Devaki Jain

"Tharangavana", 12th Cross

Raj Mahal Vilas Extension

Bangalore - 560 080

Ph: (080) 334 4113, 346 1763

Fax: (080) 331 2395

E-mail: lcjain@bgl.vsnl.net.in

Dr. V.M. Rao

No. 22, 7th 'A' Main, CHBS 1st Layout,

Vijayanagar, Bangalore - 560 040

Ph: 335 7699

E-mail: vmrao@vsnl.com

Mr. Sreenarayana

Deputy General Manager

NABARD, Bangalore

Mr. Kottathur Ramaraj

Chairperson

Trichy District Panchayat and

President of Tamil Nadu District

Panchayat of Tamil Nadu District

Panchayat Chairperson's Association

Chennai

Ms. Jesurathinam
Director, Neythal
Nagappattinam

Ms. Meera M.
Associate Director
Institute of Social Studies Trust
Manipal Centre, Dickenson Road
Bangalore - 1
Ph: 558 3701 Fax: 558 3704

Ms. Mercy
Malangi Gram Panchayat Member
Periyapatna Taluk, Mysore District

Mr. S.M. Mehta
Chief General Manager
NABARD
Bangalore

Ms. Ponni Kailasam
General Secretary,
Tamil Nadu Federation for Women Presidents of
Panchayat
Government (TNFWPPG)
Human Rights Advocacy and Research
Foundation (HRF)
Old No. 44, New No. 10,
Thomas Nagar, Little Mount, Saidapet,
Chennai - 600 015
Ph: 235 3503 Fax: 235 5905
E-mail: hrf@xlweb.com /
hrf@md3.vsnl.net.in

Mr. R. Pakkriswamy
Chairperson, Thiruvavur District
Panchayat
Chennai

Ms. Kalpana Sathish
Senior Co-ordinator
Human Rights Advocacy and Research
Foundation
Old No. 44, New No. 10, Thomas Nagar, Little
Mount, Saidapet,
Chennai - 600 015
Ph: 235 3503 Fax: 235 5905
E-mail: hrf@xlweb.com / hrf@md3.vsnl.net.in

Ms. Janakamma
Malangi Gram Panchayat Member
Periyapatna Taluk
Mysore District

Ms. Rashmi Chowdhury
Women and Child Development Department
Government of India, New Delhi
Fax: (011) 3070180
E-mail: dswd.wcd@sb.nic.in

Mr. H.S. Saxena
Director (Retd.)
National Commission for Scheduled
Castes and Scheduled Tribes
M-1/73, Basant Vihar, Aliganj Colony,
Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh - 226 020
Ph: (0522) 378033

Ms. Shakunthala Narasimhan
Freelance Journalist
Bangalore

Ms. Subhasini Subramanyam
Prof. of Sociology
Lady Irwing College
New Delhi

Mr. V.S. Badari
Director
Singamma Sreenivasan Foundation
Bangalore

Ms. Aleyamma Vijayan
Program Coordinator
Sakhi, Trivandrum
Kerala

Ms. Jill Carr Harris
Convenor
Partner Council India
HAL 2nd Stage, Bangalore
Ph: 5260570

Ms. Jeena Ramaraj
Environmental Scientist
Trichy

Ms. Ahalya S. Bhat
Consultant
Singamma Sreenivasan Foundation
Bangalore

Papers Circulated At
ROUND TABLE ON FINANCING FOR DISTRICT LEVEL DEVELOPMENT
In partnership with UNIFEM, South Asia

19th May 2001

- ❖ Purpose of the Seminar by Dr. Devaki Jain
- ❖ Review Paper by KWIRC
- ❖ Financing for Development: A Gender Perspective: UNIFEM's Efforts at Gender Mainstreaming – Ms. Chandni Joshi, Regional Programme Director, UNIFEM
- ❖ District Development – Monitoring of Projects by Mr. R. Achar, General Manager, Reserve Bank of India, Bangalore
- ❖ Involvement, Contribution and Problems of District Panchayat in District Development Administration in Tamil Nadu by Mr. Kottathur Ramaraj, Chairman, District Panchayat, Trichy
- ❖ Paper by Ms. Ponni Kailasam, General Secretary, Thiruvavarur District Panchayat, Tamil Nadu
- ❖ Paper presented by Mr. Pakkriswamy, Thiruvavarur District Panchayat, Tamil Nadu
- ❖ Financing Local-Government for District Development by Ms. Kalpana Sathish, Human Rights Foundation and Ms. Jesurathinam, Neythal
- ❖ Democracy and Decentralization – A Study of Local Budgets in Two Districts of Karnataka, Centre for Budget and Policy Studies, Bangalore
- ❖ Extract from (1989): The Report of the Zilla Parishad and Mandal Panchayat Evaluation Committee (K S Krishnaswamy Committee) Government of Karnataka
- ❖ Development Planning for and by Women: Over Five Decades of the Indian Experience: Does the Mahila Component Plan show the way? By Devaki Jain and C.P. Sujaya
- ❖ District Level Planning for Social Development – A Draft Summary Report – Karnataka State Planning Board
- ❖ A Press Release for the final session of the Financing for Development Prep-Com meeting, New York
- ❖ Note for conference on Financing for Development by Devaki Jain
- ❖ "The Triumph of Neo-liberalism" by Achin Vanaik – Article in The Hindu dated 19th March 2001

List of Display Material at
ROUND TABLE ON FINANCING FOR DISTRICT LEVEL DEVELOPMENT
In partnership with UNIFEM, South Asia

19th May 2001

1. Directory of Panchayat Raj and Women in India – Compiled by Centre for Development Studies and Action, New Delhi supported by UNIFEM, New Delhi.
2. Accountability to the World's Women: Five-Year Review of the Beijing Platform for Action, UNIFEM.
3. A Women's Development Agenda for the 21st Century – UNIFEM.
4. Annual Report 2000 – 2001 - Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India.
5. Annual Report 2000 – 2001 – Planning Commission, Government of India
6. Democracy and Decentralisation – A study of Local Budgets in two districts of Karnataka by A. Indira.
7. Report on the Entrustment of Powers to Panchayats, Planning Commission, Government of Tamil Nadu.
8. Report of the Sub-Committee on Decentralising Development Activities to Zilla Parishads and Mandal Panchayats – July 1985.
9. Status of Panchayat Raj Institutions in Rajasthan (1994-99) A Report – Unnati Organisation for Development Education.
10. Status of Panchayat Raj Institutions in Uttara Pradesh, Satsangi Shiksana Centre, Lucknow, India.
11. Finances of Panchayats in Madhya Pradesh.
12. People's Planning towards a handbook – presented at the Workshop organized by State Planning Board, Tripura, Agartala, 3rd and 4th May 1999 – T.M. Thomas Issac, Member, State Planning Board.
13. Development at the District Level, Kodagu in the 1990s – March 2001, A. Indira, Centre for Budget and Policy Studies, Bangalore.
14. Are our Budgetmakers faithful to the Constitution? – a tour of the Budgets 1947 to 2001: Civil disobedience helped us to win freedom. Criminal disobedience of the Constitution could imperit it – Paper presented at the Inaugural Lecture for People's BIAS, the **National Budget – As if people matter**, 7th March 2000, New Delhi by L.C. Jain.
15. Budget Analysis: for whose sake? – Analysis of **State Budgets**, Presented at the International Conference on Budgets and Poverty (Mumbai 5-9 November 2000) by L.C. Jain.
16. **Contemporary Writings** by Devaki Jain, 2000.
17. **Report of the Colloquium on National Population Policy – Vol. I and II - Singamma Sreenivasan Foundation**, Bangalore, 2000.
18. An Evaluation of Impact of Schemes for Women in Karnataka - Singamma Sreenivasan Foundation, Draft Report, March 2001.

19. The Gender Audit - Holding Development Accountable - Singamma Sreenivasan Foundation, March 2001.
20. Indigenising Human Rights Curriculum in Indian Universities Dossiers, Project undertaken by Karnataka Women's Information and Resource Centre, an activity of Singamma Sreenivasan Foundation, Bangalore, 1999-2000.
21. Shared Spaces, Associating Elected Women Representatives in Local Self Government, Vol. I, II, PRI Project undertaken by Karnataka Women's Information and Resource Centre, an activity of Singamma Sreenivasan Foundation, Bangalore, 2000.
22. Report of the Hawkers and Vendors, a study conducted by Singamma Sreenivasan Foundation, 1999.

Folders:

- ❖ **Karnataka Women's Information and Resource Centre (KWIRC) – an Activity of Singamma Sreenivasan Foundation, Bangalore**
- ❖ **Human Rights Education – a project undertaken by KWIRC**
- ❖ **Associating Elected Women Representatives in Local Self-Government – a project undertaken by KWIRC**
- ❖ **The Gender Audit – Holding Development Accountable – a Project undertaken by KWIRC**



Karnataka Women's Information and Resource Centre

"Tharanga", 10th Cross, R.M.V Extension

Bangalore -560 080.

Ph: (080)-3340928/3462492

Fax: (080) -3461762

Email: sssfb@giasbg01.vsnl.net.in



United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)

South Asia Regional Office

223, Jor Bagh, New Delhi 110 003, India

United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)

South Asia Regional Office

223, Jor Bagh, New Delhi 110 003, India

Tel: 91-11-4698297, 4604351

Fax: 91-11-4622136, 4627612

Email: cjosshi@unifem.ernet.in

chandni.joshi@undp.org

Website: <http://www.unifem.org.in>

<http://www.unifem.undp.org>